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SOME RECENT TRENDS in RACE RELATIONS

Together with a Brief Survey
of the work of
The Commission on Interracial Cooperation



Commission on Interracial Cooperation
703 Standard Bldg.,
ATLANTA, GA.

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"All the world needs all the rest of the world. Working together for the good of all, each race may have its individual life and yet live in peace and harmony—yes, in helpfulness to the other races which live by its side. It behooves every one of us to strive to know better all the peoples of the world and to help each and all in the struggle upward, envying no man his success, hating none, blessing and blessed by all."

—W. D. Weatherford.

RECENT TRENDS IN RACE RELATIONS

Shifting Population

The Census of 1930 reported a Negro population in the United States of 11,981,143. Of these, 9,361,577 were in sixteen Southern States (Maryland and Delaware included), and the District of Columbia, and 2,409,219 in other sections of the country. This is an increase of 13.6 per cent over the figures of 1920. In actual numbers the increase was three times as great in the North as in the South, and in percentage twelve times as great, the respective gains being 1,063,000 North, or 63 per cent, and 349,000 South, or five per cent. This doubtless was due to the heavy northward migration of the last decade.

Perhaps more significant has been the rapid urbanization of Negroes during the last ten years. This is indicated by an increase of 1,600,000 in the number of Negro city dwellers and a net decrease of 206,000 in the rural population. As a result of this movement the Negro populations of the larger Southern cities increased rapidly during the decade—thirty per cent in New Orleans, forty per cent in Birmingham, and fifty per cent in Atlanta.

It is in the great centers North, however, that the concentration has been most rapid, with New York and Chicago each showing a ten-year gain considerably in excess of 100 per cent. Of the five cities with the largest Negro population not one is south of the Potomac River. In order, they are: New York with 327,000, Chicago with 234,000, Philadelphia with 219,000, Baltimore with 142,000, and Washington with 132,000. New Orleans leads in the South with 129,000, and is followed by Birmingham with 99,000 and Atlanta with 90,000. It is not difficult to see both good and ill in this pronounced urban trend. As to the net effect one can only speculate.

Though considerably higher than for the previous two decades, the percentage of increase of Negro population was still somewhat less than that of the white group. Hence in 1930 the proportion of Negroes to the total was less than in any previous census year. Beginning with 19.3 per cent in 1790, the proportion, declining with every decade except two, now stands at 9.7 per cent. In the South the proportion of Negroes is now 24.7 per cent, as against 26.9 per cent in 1920 and 36 per cent in 1880. These comparative population trends are not only facts of interest, but also of potential influence upon interracial relations.

Educational Progress

Fundamentally important and most encouraging has been the improvement of school facilities for Negroes. Fifteen Southern States, including Maryland and Missouri, some of which in slave times prohibited the education of Negroes altogether and none of which had public schools for them prior to 1864, now have a total investment of \$85,000,000 in Negro public schools and expend for their maintenance approximately \$45,000,000 per year. In the last ten years the amount invested in these schools has increased by 180 per cent and the expenditures for maintenance by 125 per cent.

Contrasted with 571,000 Negro children enrolled in public schools in 1877, there are now 2,289,000; the increase in the last ten years has been 250,000. The percentage of Negro illiteracy, which was given as seventy by the census of 1880, is now about 20 per cent. Public school officials of North Carolina point out that the state is now spending on its Negro schools alone more than it was spending on all its schools in 1905.

Of particular significance has been the rapid increase in public high schools for Negroes, from 91 in 1915 to approximately 1,000 in 1930. The cities are making the most rapid progress, as evidenced by scores of magnificent new school buildings, some of them costing as much as a half million dollars.

College Finances and Enrollment

At the level of college education the progress made in the last ten years is described by the Federal Bureau of Education as "astonishing in its scope and almost incredible in its magnitude." For 79 Negro colleges in nineteen states the survey reported a ten-year increase in aggregate income of 275 per cent, from \$2,283,000 to \$8,560,000. Meantime the capital investment in these institutions had increased by 146 per cent and their endowment had grown from \$7,225,000 to \$20,713,000. In 1926, according to this survey, there were 77 institutions offering college work, as against 31 in 1916, while the total college enrollment had grown from 2,132 to 13,860, an increase of 550 per cent.

The chief significance of these college figures is the fact that the gains have been due largely to increased appropriations from the state legislatures. Florida A. & M. College, for example, received from the legislature \$60,000 in 1921, and \$283,000 in 1931, and a total for the period of \$1,000,664. Virginia State College was voted \$54,000 in 1922 and \$253,000 in 1930; Kentucky College \$50,000 in 1922 and \$100,000 in 1932; Southern University \$45,000 in 1923 and \$81,900 in 1932; Tennessee State College \$32,900 in 1901 and \$105,000 in 1929; Alcorn College, Mississippi, \$49,000 in 1922 and \$77,000 in 1931; Georgia State

College \$17,500 in 1921 and \$143,000 in 1931. The aggregate appropriations to South Carolina A. & M. College in ten years have been in excess of \$1,100,000 and the enrollment has increased from 304 to 583. The Oklahoma Democrat campaign text book boasts that the legislature of that state has expended in ten years on its Negro colleges and training schools an aggregate of \$3,196,000. One can interpret these gains in the public support of Negro schools and colleges only as indicating a growing sense of responsibility for Negro education and of confidence in its value.

Due acknowledgment should be made also of the generous assistance that has been rendered Negro education by various educational and philanthropic funds. The General Education Board, with appropriations to this cause aggregating more than twenty-one million dollars; the Rosenwald Fund, which by gifts aggregating four million dollars has stimulated the building of more than 5,000 schools at a total cost of \$25,000,000, mostly from public funds; the Jeanes and Slater and Phelps Stokes Funds, the Carnegie Corporation, and various church boards of education have all played notable parts in this drama of progress.

But these rapids of educational progress do not tell the whole story. Perhaps there are no actual backwashes of reaction in Negro education, but there are certainly a great many lazy eddies and stagnant pools, where the shadows lie deep and the waters have not yet been very much stirred. We shall glance at some of these later along in this survey.

Welfare Agencies

Not in the field of education alone are there evidences of a growing sense of social solidarity and of public obligation to the Negro; such evidences are numerous and conspicuous also in the attitudes and practice of social welfare agencies in general, both official and volunteer. North Carolina, for example, has set up a highly effective state bureau of Negro welfare, and other state welfare departments are heading in that direction. State and local welfare agencies in increasing numbers and degree seem to be striving faithfully to serve all elements in the community.

Of paramount importance in this connection has been the inclusion of Negro welfare agencies in community chest budgets, which is now practically universal. Not only are the Negro agencies included in the chest appropriations, but the colored people of the several communities are also enlisted in the systematic support of the community budgets. This means that Negroes are recognized as an essential element in the communi-

ty, both as liabilities and as assets, and entitled to the same public consideration as any other group. The importance of this development can hardly be overrated. Furthermore, trained Negro social workers are increasingly in demand.

Increasing Life Span

In the matter of Negro health decided gains have been made during recent years, but much is still to be desired. Between 1910 and 1927 the death rate of Negroes per thousand decreased from 24.2 to 17.3. The corresponding rate for white people, however, was more than six points lower, or 10.8 per thousand. The colored death rate from tuberculosis declined during the same period from 380 per hundred thousand to 193, but was still twice that of white people. Pneumonia, heart diseases, and kidney trouble came next in order as decimators of the race.

Infant mortality continues high, running from 100 to 200 per thousand births in different cities, and averaging about twice the rate for white children. The maternal death rate averages 67 per cent higher than that for white mothers.

Due to the declining death rate, the Negro's life span, as reported by the Metropolitan Insurance Company, increased from 41 years in 1912 to 46 years in 1922. This is still several years short of the average for both races, but it is interesting to note that the Negro is gaining in this regard more rapidly than the white group. The birth rate still slightly exceeds the white birth rate, the respective figures being 107 and 104—a margin not great enough to overcome the handicap of the Negro's heavier mortality. In consequence the relative net increase of colored population does not keep up with that of the white group.

A number of factors have contributed to the health improvement of the Negro. Education no doubt has played an important part, with its increasing emphasis on hygiene and sanitation. The annual drive of National Negro Health Week has done much to create and mobilize Negro public interest in health. Another important factor has been the increasing attention given to Negroes by public health agencies—state boards of health, county health units, municipal health officers and public nurses.

This last is another evidence of the growing public recognition of Negroes as an integral element in American life, rather than as an alien group to whom society has little or no corporate obligation. Last year in Atlanta, for example, one-third of the Negro population received free medical attention in Grady Hospital at the hands of the best physicians and surgeons and at an expense to the public of \$200,000 or more. The new Flint-Goodridge Hospital in New Orleans is one of the latest illustrations of interracial cooperation in this field.

Inadequate Hospital Facilities

Though the larger Southern cities are endeavoring to provide reasonably for Negro hospitalization, in the smaller towns and rural sections hospital facilities for either race are usually meager or wholly lacking. This fact was sadly dramatized last fall by the tragic death of Miss Juliette Derricotte, dean of women of Fisk University and former national secretary of the Y. W. C. A. Though she was desperately injured in an auto wreck in a North Georgia town and was extended the most careful and considerate service by white physicians, no one thought of taking her to the local hospital, which is for the service of white people only. In hundreds of small towns similar conditions exist, subordinating the saving of life to the preservation of caste.

Another serious condition is the lack of adequate hospital and clinical opportunities for Negro doctors. According to the standards of the American Medical Association there are in the whole country only eight fully accredited hospitals operated primarily for Negroes, and only two of these are in the South. These all together accommodate annually only 67 internes, a fact which makes it impossible for more than a small proportion of Negro physicians to get hospital training or practice. Another serious handicap is that the general hospitals which accept Negro patients usually exclude colored doctors from hospital practice—a condition practically universal in the South and very common in other sections of the country.

Economic Losses

But while Negroes of late have made gains in education, in health and otherwise, the same can hardly be said of their economic status. In that field, on the other hand, it is not difficult to discover evidences of distinct reactionary trends and heavy losses. In large degree, of course, these losses are attributable to the general economic breakdown. The collapse of profitable agriculture has appreciably reduced the number of Negro landowners and has driven many farm tenants and wage hands to the cities, there to join in the struggle for existence. Meantime many white farm people also have grown discouraged or desperate and have sought refuge in urban industry—and that at a time of extreme industrial retrenchment, rather than one of expansion. The results have been pathetic and even tragic for multitudes of both races. The Negro, constituting traditionally the marginal industrial group, has undoubtedly been the greater sufferer.

Under the pressure of economic necessity, group competition along racial lines has been added to personal competition. Widespread replacement of Negroes by white workers has taken

place, occasionally in a large way, as when in one city a hundred Negro bell boys were replaced by white boys in a single week. In widely scattered localities the bitter struggle for bread has taken the form of intimidation or actual violence, with Negroes run off their jobs or fighting to retain them. While none of these conflicts so far reported have assumed serious proportions, it would be foolish to minimize their potential danger.

Communist Propaganda

True to their orthodox methods the communists have sought to project themselves into this troubled situation and to foment it as much as possible, with the apparent hope of promoting revolutionary strife. However, in view of the abundant grounds for discontent, it is rather notable that their propaganda has had so little apparent effect. Whatever their sympathy with the economic and social ideals of communism, Negroes apparently have little faith in the communist technique of violence and revolution, and no disposition to seek help in that direction. This attitude on the part of Negroes, and the comparative absence of hysteria on the part of white people in the face of the communist threat, are both distinctly encouraging.

There are some who insist that the Negro's economic future, and even his survival, are in grave jeopardy as a result of the trend toward replacement referred to above. Obviously his monopoly of certain types of jobs is rapidly passing. It is true also that he is still generally looked upon by white workers as belonging to an alien and competitive group—a view which shrewd promoters sometimes have sought to capitalize, as in the Black Shirt organization which for a time threatened serious trouble in Georgia in the summer of 1930. While it is not conceivable that society will ever find it desirable to reject the contribution of any group capable of adding to the wealth and comfort of the whole, the problem at best is serious, and no easy answer presents itself. On the Negro's side the surest hope seems to be the fullest possible preparation for economic efficiency and productiveness, and the conservation of racial resources within the group. Negro leaders are wisely giving increasing attention to this situation, which challenges also the interest of the whole nation.

The Lynching Curve

The lynching curve, after its abrupt upward turn from eleven in 1928 and ten in 1929 to twenty-one in 1930, fell again last year to thirteen, the lowest recorded level with the two exceptions mentioned above. These figures in themselves are depressing enough, but their hopeful significance is seen when contrasted with an average of 165 mob victims a year for fifteen years beginning with 1882, and with 100 a year over the forty-year period ending in 1921. Six lynchings have so far been

reported for the first nine months of 1932. Geographically also the habit is being steadily pushed off the map. While in 1892 no less than 33 states shared the guilt of lynching, only nine states reported lynchings last year, and as few as five in 1928.

A determined purpose to end mob violence is growing among officers of the law, as evidenced by increasing vigilance in the protection of prisoners and the occasional use of force when mobs refuse to listen to reason. In 1931 fifty-seven cases were reported in which threats of mob violence were averted by courageous and efficient officers.

The Political Situation

The Negro's political situation also seems to be improving slowly. His right to participate in all legalized primaries has been affirmed by recent court decisions in Texas and Virginia, thus removing, at least in theory, one of his chief political handicaps. Perhaps even more important are the indications that popular objection to Negro suffrage is growing less pronounced, and here and there tending to disappear. It still remains true, however, that Negro disfranchisement is general in a number of states and almost universal in some, and that political demagogues still seek at times to incite and capitalize race prejudice.

The recent rapid concentration of Negroes in Northern urban centers adds greatly to their potential political power, both locally and in state and nation, and will doubtless augment the consideration shown the group by the dominant political parties. The Negro Non-Partisan Conference, which met in Washington last December on call of Congressman Oscar DePriest, strongly urged independent political action, in cooperation with the best and most responsible elements of the white group, irrespective of party.

In the South one seems justified in attaching hopeful interracial significance to the defeat of Senators Blease and Heflin. There is encouragement also in the fact that Oscar DePriest, whose election to Congress was so warmly resented at the time, was well received on a recent speaking tour in the South and heartily commended for some of his expressed views.

Court Justice

It seems obvious, also, that court justice for Negroes in general is becoming less spasmodic and uncertain. Though the administration of justice is not yet wholly color blind, and even at times highly color conscious, there is ample evidence that the Negro's general standing in the courts is steadily improving, both as defendant and as plaintiff. It is not so easy as once it was to perpetrate injustice against Negroes and get away with it; nor is it so difficult as formerly for Negroes wrongly accused to establish their innocence.

In certain types of cases, to be sure, courts are still in danger of being hurried to hasty and ill-considered decisions by the pressure of mob psychology. Without doubt "legal lynchings" of this character have sometimes been perpetrated by the courts and are still possible. In such cases, however, the Federal Courts have been found readily accessible and quick to overrule any obvious miscarriage of justice.

Interracial Cooperation

Probably the most important gain, however, because the most fundamental, is the fact that the method of interracial cooperation is coming to be widely and spontaneously adopted in many forms of community and group activity. First demonstrated by the cooperative agencies set up by the Interracial Commission, this method appears to have been accepted generally as the normal means of dealing with situations involving the interests of both races. Illustrations have been referred to already in the organization and administration of public welfare agencies, boards of health and community chests. A single Southern city, in addition to two or more specific interracial committees, affords the following illustrations of spontaneous interracial cooperation:

White and Negro physicians working together in clinics and in public health service; cooperation of white and colored educators in library service and adult education; interracial staff to combat unemployment and relieve economic distress; cooperation in raising and administering community fund; a school for Negro social workers, interracial in directorate and faculty; Negro orphanage similarly conducted; interracially directed vocational training school; cooperation in anti-tuberculosis work; interracial state conference of social workers; interracial cooperation in Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.; interracial student forum; interracial directorates of a number of Negro colleges, etc. Thus all across the South the principle of interracial cooperation is being integrated with all types of community activity and given a permanent and natural place in community organization.

Educational Inequalities

So far this brief survey of conditions has been in the main encouraging. Unfortunately, however, it is by no means the whole story. In addition to the depressing economic situation of Negroes, accentuated just now by the general economic stress, there are many areas of misunderstanding, neglect and injustice that make the sympathetic observer sick at heart.

In the matter of education, where the most encouraging progress has been made, inequalities still exist so marked and so general as to be a matter of grave concern. In his excellent

study, "Financing Schools in the South in 1930," Prof. Fred McCuiston shows that in the eleven Southern States in which separate records are kept, the public school outlay averaged \$44.31 for the white and \$12.57 for the colored child enrolled, or nearly four to one against the group most completely dependent upon public funds for its educational opportunity. In South Carolina the respective figures were \$60.06 and \$7.84; in Mississippi they were \$45.34 and \$5.45.

But even these figures do not tell the worst. Within these averages there are unbelievable extremes. In Alabama, for example, where the averages for the State are \$36.43 for the white child and \$10.09 for the colored, there is one county in which the figures were found to be \$57.00 for the white child and \$1.51 for the Negro. In hundreds of counties in many of the states the proportion runs as high as ten to one, or twenty to one, in favor of the white child. So far in most of these counties these conditions have not been challenged, or even questioned. An earnest, intelligent campaign is taking shape for the correction of this situation, through the stimulation of a more sensitive public conscience. At best, however, one can expect only hard going in dealing with conditions so deeply rooted in tradition, prejudice and imagined self interest.

Economic Exploitation

That practical peonage still exists rather widely cannot be doubted. There recently came to light, for example, a situation in the turpentine belt of Florida where Negroes were regularly held against their will in the turpentine camps and worked indefinitely under armed guards, forbidden to leave and brought back forcibly if they attempted to do so. It was found further that this condition was legalized by a law enacted in 1919, apparently for that specific purpose. Efforts to arouse an effective sentiment for the repeal of that law have so far proved unavailing, though some interest and offers of cooperation have been uncovered. Similar conditions admittedly exist in certain agricultural areas, accepted without question as part of the traditional system. Repeated abortive efforts of the Federal Courts to break up this system reveal again the fact that law to be effective must have the support of public opinion.

There are sections in which white men may shoot down Negroes on slight provocation, with complete immunity from punishment and sometimes even from arrest. In the rural "black belt" there are Negro tenants who do not dare ask their landlords even for an accounting, knowing that such an inquiry would be resented. Grave doubt as to the identity or guilt of more than half the twenty-one persons lynched in 1930 and the fact that only two of the thousands of lynchers have so far been

convicted of murder, are sufficient evidence of the Negro's relative lack of protection at the hands of the law.

Segregation is still practically universal in the South; and it must be admitted that the arbitrary segregation of one race by another is a profound cause of racial friction the world over. While in certain areas a slight lifting of the burden of segregation seems to be in progress, the policy appears to be spreading in other sections, with the shift of Negro population. This problem, along with that of the Negro's economic status, is one of the most difficult phases of the interracial situation.

The Mass Mind

Again, while there has been progress at the higher intellectual levels, the mind of the millions has been much more difficult to reach and has not yet been very much affected. Yet out of this soil grow the most acute and difficult problems of interracial friction and injustice. The lynching habit, the bombing of Negro homes, the effort by violence or intimidation to take the jobs of Negroes—these are all manifestations of the mass mind, not vicious and wicked so much as ignorant and prejudiced and afraid. It is not alone the Negro whose emancipation is incomplete. There are white millions also who are still enslaved by tradition and prejudice, and their emancipation is a task of prime importance to both races.

WORK OF COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

To report adequately the efforts of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its affiliated committees, and to fit them into this general picture, is not easy. The area covered is so vast, the agencies working at the task so scattered and often unrelated, the situations dealt with and the results achieved so various as to defy detailed mention. For the local committees it must suffice to say that such groups, of which hundreds were organized in the early days of the movement, are still functioning effectively in most of the large cities and in a great many smaller cities and towns. These committees are working on a variety of definite projects—schools, libraries, sanitation and health, protection of life and property, legal aid and many other conditions involving interracial injustice and neglect. The value of such agencies of understanding and conciliation has been especially evident of late in certain communities that have been disturbed by untoward incidents and revolutionary propaganda.

Out of twelve years experience these committees have demonstrated certain principles of successful interracial cooperation. They have found, for example, that cooperation on a specific task is much more fruitful, even in the transformation of attitudes, than discussion of the race problem. They have discovered that adults, like children, learn best by the project method, while at the same time they get things done—another case in which the by-product is quite as important as the direct result. The concreteness of the project, also, usually measures its success.

Another technique developed by the successful interracial committee is that of enlisting other agencies in interracial activities, while itself remaining in the background. This is of major importance, both because it often enables the committee to achieve through others far more than it could accomplish directly, and also because it stimulates the community to accept responsibility for interracial matters.

Among the important cities reporting active and effective committees are Richmond, Norfolk, Suffolk, Greensboro, Greenville, Charleston, Jacksonville, Savannah, Augusta, Atlanta, Athens, Chattanooga, Nashville, Louisville, Memphis, Birmingham, Huntsville, Mobile, Shreveport, Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, and Little Rock. In many places where committees once existed but no longer function as such, the helpful contacts then established still persist and achieve results. In general it is true, however, that these local committees need constant stimulation from some parent body, and without such stimulation tend to lapse into inactivity.

Activities of State Committees

The state committees for the most part have kept together well and are actively heading up the movement in their respective areas. Especially active have been the state committees of Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Texas. In the other states formerly well organized there have been some partial lapses, due to lack of field supervision. Because of inadequate funds it has been necessary to curtail the field staff, which now consists of three full-time men and two whose time is divided with other tasks.

The Virginia and North Carolina committees have assumed full responsibility for the work in those states, including their joint budget. The Texas Committee, through its executive group, is carrying on without a field man, and in Mississippi the active promotion of the work has been taken over by a state committee of women. Well-attended meetings, state and regional, have been held by each of these committees, to strengthen group morale, study conditions, and plan their work.

State Committee of 500

A remarkable recent development in connection with the work in North Carolina was the organization in March, 1932, of a State Interracial Committee of Five Hundred. The call for this organization and personal invitations to become members of it were issued by Governor O. Max Gardner on his official stationery, and within a week signed acceptances were received from 450 of the persons invited. This was followed immediately by a state-wide conference held in the State House, attended by 250 representative citizens. The committee held also a remarkable state-wide conference on the economic status of Negroes, which had an attendance of 500.

Three significant regional conferences were held in Virginia during the last year, with an aggregate attendance of about 2,000, representing in large measure the best leadership of the two races. The state secretary has been able to render effective assistance in a number of situations involving discriminatory legislation, educational and cultural opportunities, improvement of housing, child welfare, transportation, health, interchurch cooperation, etc.

Tennessee and Alabama

The field secretary for Tennessee and Alabama reports dependable committees and personal contacts in no less than seventy Tennessee counties. Annual regional conferences are held in each of the three sections of the state, and close cooperative contacts have been maintained with official and voluntary social welfare agencies, including the state departments of education and health. A bill providing for the automatic suspension of sheriffs in whose jurisdiction lynchings occur was drawn and sponsored by the state committee in the last legislature. Undoubtedly it would have been enacted into law except for a local financial crash which involved the credit of the state and monopolized the further attention of the legislature. This bill will be introduced again in the next legislature, and its passage is confidently expected.

The Alabama state committee has been very active in the effort to deal wisely with a number of troubled situations and counteract the disturbing influence of agitators who have sought to array the races against each other, in the hope of promoting disorder and riot. The peril involved in this situation has brought added support to the committee from outstanding citizens and has served to solidify the best leadership of the two racial groups. As in Tennessee, the movement has close and sympathetic contacts at the state capitol with the departments of welfare, education, and health. In a number of cases members of the state committee have been able to render timely help in the prevention of threatened mob violence.

Persistent efforts on the part of the interracial group in Kentucky were rewarded by the recent opening in Louisville of the Municipal College for Negroes, a branch of the University of Louisville. Thus for the first time the opportunity for higher education within their own state was made accessible to the Negro youth of Kentucky. The enrollment in this institution has rapidly increased. Valuable work has been done by the Kentucky state committee in protecting the two Negro state normal schools from drastic legislative cuts in connection with the general drive for economy. The committee cooperated in carrying out an extensive state-wide health program and has held or assisted in a number of important interracial conferences in different sections. Investigations have been made of a number of situations involving the welfare of Negroes and programs have been formulated for dealing with these conditions.

HEADQUARTERS PROGRAM

Press Service

The Commission's headquarters program has gone forward as heretofore along three main lines: Education, woman's work, and research. This general classification, however, is neither exhaustive nor quite exact.

The educational program, so called, has endeavored to affect public opinion through all available channels. As in previous years, constant use has been made of newspapers and magazines to the number of 2,000 or more, including all the daily papers in the South, many of the weeklies, all the colored papers in the United States, and the principal journals devoted to religion, education, and other special interests. The purpose of this news service has been "to interpret each race to the other in the most favorable terms consistent with the facts." In this effort we have had generous and helpful cooperation on the part of the Associated Press, the United Press, the International News Service, and the Associated Negro Press, which have repeatedly broadcast our releases to the press of the entire nation. The attitude of the newspapers, almost without exception, continues intelligent, friendly and cooperative.

High Schools

An approach to the high schools through a project in American history, initiated several years ago, has been repeated annually with good results. A 5,000-word booklet, entitled "America's Tenth Man," dealing with the Negro's constructive contributions to the nation's life, has been put annually into the hands of 2,000 high school principals and made available for their students for supplementary work in American history. Hundreds of teachers have put the plan into effect, ordering more than 50,000 copies of the pamphlet, and enlisting many thousands of

students in the study. In some cases the entire student body was enlisted, not only in studying the source pamphlet, but also in community surveys, visitation of Negro schools, extension work in the community, etc.

We feel justified in hoping that this project has made some definite contribution to interracial understanding on the part of a great many teachers and students. Its chief significance, however, is in the fact that it has abundantly demonstrated the acceptability and effectiveness of such an approach through the public schools. The project has been examined and approved in practically every Southern state department of education, and has received wide and enthusiastic endorsement at the hands of teachers who have tried it. There have been no unfavorable comments from any quarter. It is our conviction that the inclusion of some such study in the regular curricula of the public schools would do much to normalize racial attitudes and conditions in the South. This is the goal we hope ultimately to see achieved.

Colleges

The Commission's major educational interest during the year, however, has been centered in the colleges and teacher training institutions, as the sources from which the streams of popular education flow. A number of outstanding educational leaders were invited to sponsor and set up this campaign, and cheerfully agreed to do so. The result was a sponsoring committee composed of Bruce R. Payne, President of Peabody College; Frank Graham, President of the University of N. C.; Willis A. Sutton, Supt. of Atlanta Public Schools; R. E. Blackwell, President Randolph-Macon College for Men; Robert H. Wright, President Eastern Carolina Teachers College; S. M. N. Marrs, State Supt. of Schools, Texas; and James H. Hope, State Supt. of Schools, South Carolina. A program committee was created consisting of W. C. Jackson, Vice President of N. C. College for Women, Greensboro; J. L. Clark, State Teachers College, Huntsville, Texas; N. C. Newbold, State Supervisor of Negro Schools, Raleigh, N. C.; Dennis H. Cooke and U. W. Leavell, of Peabody College; and representatives of the Interracial Commission.

The Peabody Conference

Under these favorable auspices the Commission held at Peabody College in July, 1931, a notable Conference on Education and Racial Adjustment, attended by sixty college presidents and professors and public school administrators. Four days were devoted to earnest consideration of the opportunity and obligation of Southern educational institutions—colleges and public schools—to make a constructive contribution to the problems of race relations. As a result, the conference constituted itself a

continuing body, provided for another meeting in 1932, and ordered its executive committee in the meantime to cooperate with this Commission in bringing its findings as widely as possible to the attention of Southern educators.

Pursuant to those instructions, the 80-page report of the Conference has been sent, with covering letters, to 2,000 college presidents and professors, officials of state boards of education, superintendents of city school systems and other educational leaders. Follow-up letters have gone to a large number of teachers of history, sociology, and education, and to directors of summer schools, suggesting the possibility of introducing race relations work. Many encouraging responses have been received.

The Conference, somewhat expanded in membership, met again at Peabody College in July, 1932, checked on the past year's work, and for three days gave serious attention to plans for promoting its objectives, which include not only the introduction of race relations courses in colleges, but the correlation of such studies with many other courses in colleges and public schools.

In a special effort to reach the students in teachers colleges and college departments of education a summary from the Peabody Report was published under the title "The Quest for Understanding," and more than 5,000 copies were ordered by professors of education in sixty teacher training institutions and put into the hands of their students for study and report. The president of one state teachers college ordered 400 copies, and had them studied throughout the school as part of the regular work. "America's Tenth Man," also, has been used in college classes in American history to the number of 4,000 copies.

These experiments open another interesting educational approach, more direct, less difficult, and at the same time more fundamental and important than the high school project previously described. The Executive Committee appointed by the Peabody Conference is now seeking to develop suitable texts and correlated materials for this use, and hopes that when such are available it will be possible to secure their general adoption.

Women Attack Lynching

The Commission's **Department of Woman's Work** has divided its attention between a crusade against lynching and the development and demonstration of a technique of local women's organization and activity. Encouraging progress has been made in both lines of effort.

From the first the women connected with the Commission have been active in the campaign against lynching. The eradication of this crime was one of the goals set at their initial meeting in Memphis in 1920. As state committees of women were organized following that meeting, they promptly went on record in condemnation of lynching and proclaimed their convictions in signed statements which were broadcast through the press. It was not long till in eleven Southern states groups of the most prominent women had thus voiced their protest and called for reform. Coming from hundreds of representative women, these statements, it is believed, have done much to create a new public conscience relative to mob violence and to bring down the lynching record from 83 in 1919 to thirteen in 1931.

Distressed by the unexpected resurgence of mob violence in 1930, the women of the Commission determined upon a fresh offensive against lynching—better planned, more aggressive, more definite in its objectives, and as long continued as may be necessary. This new attack was begun on November 1, 1930, when twenty representative women from eight southeastern states met in Atlanta at the Commission's invitation and initiated the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

As a result of vigorous field work and extensive correspondence the organization of this movement has proceeded rapidly. Active state committees have been set up in 13 states, nearly 6,000 members have been enrolled, and cooperating units have been established in more than four hundred counties across the South. These women not only carry on an educational campaign against lynching, but individually and collectively watch for dangerous situations, seek to avert threatened trouble, commend and support officers who resist mobs, and demand vigorous court action in cases of mob violence. Each signs personally a repudiation of the claim that lynching is necessary for the protection of women, and pledges herself to do all in her power to bring about its abolition.

In this movement the great religious organizations of women are cooperating, with their direct approach to most of the women of the South. In dealing with a situation in which public opinion is the final determinant, the significance of this mobilization of Southern women can hardly be over-estimated.

Other Organizations Enlisted

Another more inclusive phase of woman's work has been the effort to integrate interracial education and activity with the regular programs of the various organizations of women—civic, educational, and religious. On the educational side the plan comprehends local studies of Negro schools, health, and civic

conditions, racial attitudes in children, etc. Practically it works out in efforts along many lines for the improvement of the conditions affecting Negroes. Officially adopted by the great missionary organizations of Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian women, this program has already been undertaken in hundreds of local auxiliaries, not as the program of the Interracial Commission, but as that of the church groups themselves. Reports are in hand of such activities in several hundred auxiliaries. Since there are more than fifteen thousand of these local organized church groups, all potentially committed to a race-relations program, the possibilities in this line of approach are almost limitless. The keen interest and readiness to cooperate manifested by the leaders of these groups justify the hope of rapid progress in this field.

Research

The most important research project ever sponsored by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was a case study of the lynchings of 1930. This study was made under the auspices of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, composed of George Fort Milton, Julian Harris, John Hope, Benjamin F. Hubert, Charles S. Johnson, W. P. King, W. J. McGlothlin, R. R. Moton, Howard W. Odum, Alex W. Spence, Monroe Work, W. W. Alexander and W. C. Jackson, and was the first of the kind ever undertaken.

"Lynchings and What They Mean"

The study was completed in the summer of 1931 and a summary of the results was published in a substantial report, entitled "Lynchings and What They Mean." The startling facts revealed by this study, released by the three great press associations, created a national sensation and were featured by thousands of papers. The Commission's work in bringing them to light was hailed by the press of the nation as a distinct public service. Ten thousand copies of the report were published, most of which have been put into selected hands. The case studies proper are now being prepared for publication, with the view of more limited use for educational and research purposes. The Commission owes a debt of gratitude to the eleven Southern leaders who cooperated with the staff in supervising this study and gave so generously of their time and attention to the formulation of its findings.

A further study of the legal aspects of lynching is now in progress, under the auspices of the deans of the Southern law schools—the first survey ever made of the whole field of anti-lynching legislation and court procedure. This study, also, will make a marked impression, it is believed, and the results are awaited with interest.

An interesting incident of the anti-lynching campaign was the presentation last fall of the Commission's distinguished service medal to Mrs. J. C. Butler, of Huntingdon, Tennessee, in recognition of her courage and determination in standing off a mob. The presentation of the medal was made the occasion of a notable public meeting and of the widest publicity. The addresses delivered on that occasion were published in an attractive pamphlet, and put into the hands of every Southern sheriff and other people of influence to the number of 3,000.

Legal Aid

Investigation and legal aid received more attention during the year than usual, owing to the emergence of a number of troublesome cases. Immediately after the riots at Emelle and Camp Hill, Alabama, a member of the Commission's field staff hurried to the scenes of conflict and lent all the aid possible in the restoration of peace. He and other members of the staff have worked extensively on the Scottsboro case, in a careful search for the facts, in the effort to secure adequate legal representation for the eight Negro youths under sentence of death, and in enlisting the interest of Alabama people, in case an appeal for clemency shall become a last resort. Notable cooperation in these efforts has been received from local and state leaders of the interracial movement in Alabama. The difficulty of effective work in this case, however, has been greatly augmented by the persistent efforts of the Communists to make political capital of it.

In the case of John Downer, of Elberton, Georgia, sentenced to death in a hurried trial which was guarded by 200 soldiers to prevent mob violence, representatives of the Commission made an investigation which left them gravely doubtful of Downer's guilt and fully assured that the trial was dominated by mob psychology and the result predetermined. Legal advice was accordingly enlisted and assistance was rendered in throwing the case into the Federal Courts, on the constitutional grounds successfully maintained in the famous Elaine riot cases in Phillips County, Arkansas. A favorable initial ruling was gained in the District Court of Appeals, and the case was remanded for further hearing. It bids fair to be one more significant challenge of that type of hasty court procedure sometimes referred to as "legal lynchings."

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